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PUBLIC-SCHOOL LIFE IN ENGLAND

A LECTURE,

DELIVERED IN

THE THEATRE OF THE DAYARAM JETHMAL

SIND COLLEGE, KARACHI,

AUGUST 23rd, 1893,

BY

H. P. JACOB,

EDUCATIONAL INSPECTOR IN SIND.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

In revising this lecture for the press I have had the advantage of consulting the Report of the *Schools Enquiry Commission of* 1864-8. The concluding part of the lecture has been slightly expanded: and in an appendix I have given *in extenso* a remarkable letter, which Sir Philip Sidney received from his parents, while he was a boy at Shrewsbury School in 1565. It has often been reprinted in England; but it is not so well known to the Indian reader as it deserves to be.

H. P. JACOB.

Karachi, Sept. 4, 1893.

PUBLIC-SCHOOL LIFE IN ENGLAND.

A wise man once said that the battle of Waterloo was won on the play-fields of Eton: and I put this paradox in the fore-front of my lecture, because it seems to me to contain, in one pithy sentence, the whole kernel of the subject which I have been asked to expound to you this evening. To those who are unacquainted with the public schools in England, this saying may seem to be absurdly wide of the truth, as well as ungenerous to England's gallant allies at a supreme crisis in the history of Europe. But to surprise and way-lay the minds of his fellowmen is precisely what the framer of a paradox intends. He is in fact one of the most delightful of highwaymen. While many of us are ambling somewhat too drowsily along the highway of life, he not unfrequently, it is true, makes us start in our saddles. But he means us no harm: for instead of robbing us of our purses, his sole anxiety seems to be to present us with some golden coin of truth which we may wear on our watch-chains for the rest of our lives. The coiner of this paradox, at all events, never for a moment could have intended to under-rate the heroic constancy of England's allies, who fought shoulder to shoulder with her all through that memorable 18th day of June, 1815. Nor could he have forgotten how well Blucher kept his word,—how, at the call of that most impetuous of modern leaders of war, the Prussian army, toiling heroically from Wavre to Planchenoit and Mt. St. Jean with more than a hundred guns, over wooded hills and along narrow lanes knee-deep in mud, first loomed on the French right at noonday, from the crest of St. Lambert, like the harbinger-cloud of a terrific tempest,—then, ere night closed in, hurled 50,000 troops, with the fury of the tempest itself, on the enemy's extreme right wing and routed it, (at the moment that the whole British line was driving the main body of Napoleon's army into a chaos of dissolving fugitives),—and, finally, after pouring through Planchenoit across the only line of escape open to the panic-stricken mass, pursued it through the night, until all power or semblance of rally and resistance had been destroyed. No! he could not forget; for was it not from the lips of the great Duke himself that this paradox first fell? Say rather, that it was his vivid remembrance of the whole of this tremendous scene, that caused the thought to flash like lightning from his soul—'The boy is father of the man!'; and that then the great battle itself rolled on into the back-ground of the picture, and the play-fields of Eton College came before him as the birthplace of that physical and moral pluck and of that staying-power, which won the battle. But as in the picture before his imagination, so in this paradox, the play-grounds of Eton typified not only Eton itself, but all the great Public Schools of England and Germany. For never did those two Teutonic nations prove the identity of their early schooling more clearly, than by their stubborn determination that day never to give in till victory was secure.

Both nations have always been very proud of their Public Schools: and Germany has its Eton in Schulpforta, in the pleasant country of Prussian Saxony. The Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary's, Pforta, dates from 1137. This was secularised in 1540 and converted into a richly endowed school by Duke Maurice of Saxony in 1543. Its venerable pile of buildings, rising among its meadows, hills and woods is worthy of the motto borne on the arms of the old Abbey: "This is none other but the house of God and this is the gate (porta, Fforte) of heaven." The school has also a beautifully restored chapel, regular commemorative services and a host of local usages. But it is in England more than in any other country that the Public Schools are dear to the heart of the nation: and Englishmen are as sensitively proud of them, as they are of their Navy and of their supremacy at sea.

They are proud of their antiquity, of the beauty of their buildings and grounds, of their rich endowments, of the scholarship and personality of the head-masters, and above all of the part which these historic schools have always played in moulding and developing the flower of the youth of England. Winchester College has this year been celebrating its Quincentenary. Eton was founded in 1440; St. Paul's in 1509; Shrewsbury in 1551; Westminster in 1560; Rugby in 1567; Harrow in 1571; Sherborne, Christ's Hospital and some others between 1550 and 1562; and Charterhouse in 1611. The most notable Public Schools founded as late as the present century are Marlborough, Wellington College, Haileybury, Clifton, Cheltenham, the City of London, Malvern College, Radley, and Rossall.

I will not venture to say how many public schools there are precisely in England, but we may put the number at about 30. Nor will I attempt to make any minute comparison of these great schools with one another, in regard to the wealth of their endowments, the beauty of their chapels, school-houses and play-grounds, and the intellectual renown of their masters and pupils. My lecture has been written at very short notice, and I have had no access to blue-books and other sources of authoritative information on the first of these points. Moreover, I doubt whether any one is at present in a position to say what the available income of each of these schools really is.* The annual proceeds from the endowments of Eton College are generally set down at £20,000. Some of the schools, however, have even a larger endowed income than this. I remember for instance, when my father was Headmaster 30 years ago at Christ's

* The Schools Enquiry Commission of 1864-8 roughly estimated the gross income of 791 Endowed Secondary Schools of all grades in England and Wales at £442,000 a year. But this estimate did not include the cost of the management of their estates and of repairs of the school buildings.

Hospital, the annual income of the school used to be set down at £60,000,—though nowadays, owing to the depreciation of land, it is probably not much more than £40,000. But the site of the school buildings, set as they are, in the very heart of the city of London, is worth at least half a million sterling: and the school is about to sell it and migrate to a country-site near Horsham in Sussex.*

Then as to the material equipments of the Public Schools,—their palatial buildings, play-grounds and general surroundings,—I must content myself by saying that they are a life-long dream of beauty and of delightful associations to all who have been brought up in the midst of them; while to those who have never seen them, mere verbal description would, I fear, convey a very inadequate idea of what they are like. But the poet Gray's lines will give you some idea, firstly, of the stateliness of Eton College, situated as it is at a beautiful spot on the left bank of the river Thames, within view of the stateliest of the royal palaces on the opposite bank; and secondly, of the affection and ecstasy, which the sight of his old school is capable of arousing in an Englishman's breast, even though he be a sedate, old Cambridge don, and the most learned man of his time in Europe :—

Ye distant spires, ye antique towers
That crown the watery glade,
Where grateful Science still adores
Her Henry's holy shade;
And ye, that from the stately brow
Of Windsor's heights the expanse below
Of grove, of lawn, of mead survey,
Whose turf, whose shade, whose flowers among
Wanders the hoary Thames along
His silver-winding way:—
Ah happy hills! ah pleasing shade!
Ah fields beloved in vain!
Where once my careless childhood strayed,
A stranger yet to pain!
I feel the gales that from ye blow
A momentary bliss bestow,
As waving fresh their gladsome wing
My weary soul they seem to soothe,
And, redolent of joy and youth,
To breathe a second spring.

Thirdly, as to the comparative social, physical and intellectual pre-

* "Christ's Hospital is a thing without a parallel in the country and *sui generis*. It is a grand relic of the mediæval spirit; a monument of the profuse munificence of that spirit and of that constant stream of individual beneficence which is so often found to flow around institutions of that character. It has kept up its main features, its traditions, its antique ceremonies, almost unchanged for a period of upwards of three centuries. It has a long and goodly list of worthies. It is quite as strong as Eton and Winchester in the affection of those who have been brought up in the school. And, whatever educational faults there may be in it, that affection is at least earned by the admirable care and unstinted liberality bestowed on the nurture of the children, (extending to an unlimited supply, as may be required, of the smallest articles of extra clothing); the result of which is shown in their singular enjoyment of good health, of which there is irrefragable evidence, and which we think must be more due to that peculiar care than to any other cause."—*Schools Enquiry Commission of* 1864-8, *Vol. I., p.* 476.

eminence of these schools, every public-school man naturally thinks most highly of the school in which he was himself brought up: and a prudent and peaceable lecturer, who duly bears in mind how touchy Englishmen are about their *alma mater*, will refrain from all attempt to rate one school above another. But I may perhaps say without offence that Eton, Harrow and Winchester are, by a sort of prescriptive right, based mainly on social considerations, regarded as *primæ inter pares*. But in intellectual renown, as tested by academic and other distinctions, these three schools have often been surpassed by others. A year or two ago, for example, my old school, St. Paul's, carried off no less than 20 open scholarships at the Universities and stood *facile princeps* for the year in this respect. But of England's great men of thought or action Eton can claim a whole galaxy of names, among them being Sir Robert Walpole, Harley, Earl of Oxford, Lord Bolingbroke, the famous Earl of Chatham, Horace Walpole, the Marquess of Wellesley and his brother, the great Duke of Wellington, Fox, Canning, Gray, Shelley, Porson (beyond all comparison the greatest scholar ever educated at Eton,) Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury. Milton and Marlborough and the present Master of Balliol College Dr. Jowett, were at St. Paul's. Byron, Sheridan, Sir Robert Peel and Lord Palmerston at Harrow. Coleridge and Charles Lamb at Christ's Hospital. Sir Philip Sidney, "the president of nobless and chivalry," as Spenser termed him, and the famous Greek scholars, Benjamin Hall Kennedy, Shilleto and Moss, were at Shrewsbury.* Thackeray was at the Charterhouse. Rugby claims Sir Ralph Abercromby, Dr. Samuel Butler, Dean Stanley and Matthew Arnold. While at Westminster the roll of honoured names is as historic as Eton's. Ben Jonson, Cowley, Dryden, Cowper, Southey, Warren Hastings, Sir Elijah Impey, Lord John Russell and Lord Raglan, were all Westminster men. Nestling in the shadow of the most glorious Abbey in England, Westminster, before the "influence of fashion had set in with a full tide towards Eton and Harrow" seventy-five years ago, was greatly in favour with the English nobility: and the Duke of Wellington once declared that Westminster men infallibly made good officers.

But every public-school roll, indeed, has its share of eminent names, and I cannot, in the time at our disposal this evening, aim at anything like Homeric completeness in my catalogue of England's public-school

* The pre-eminence of Shrewsbury boys in Greek scholarship during the headmasterships of Dr. Samuel Butler and Dr. Kennedy was remarkable. The wooden tablets of distinguished names on the school-room walls show that one pupil won the Ireland scholarship at Oxford, while still a school boy at Shrewsbury—a wonderful feat, inasmuch as the competitors for this scholarship are generally undergraduates of two or more years' standing in the University; and that the Porson Prize for Greek Verse at Cambridge was at one time almost monopolised by Shrewsbury scholars.

heroes. But this I must add, that, if you were to trace the early history of the most eminent Englishmen, who have laboured in India during the last hundred years, you would find that a very large proportion of our Viceroys and Governors, of our Civil and Military Officers, and of our Merchants, were educated at the English Public Schools.*

I have said that I cannot say precisely how many public schools there are in England. The reason for this hesitation is that, while there are about 250 secondary schools—endowed and proprietary—whose course of teaching enables boys to proceed to Oxford or Cambridge, there is no public authority or standard by which we may determine which schools shall be called "public" and which "private." Any good secondary school of this class may claim to be a "public" school, if it chooses; but only a certain number of schools are by general consent recognised as such: and it is not easy to say in the case of a newly-founded school whether that general recognition has or has not been given.

But you will ask: is there anything in the schools which are indisputably, by common consent, "public" schools, to differentiate them from other secondary schools not so called?

To this question I cannot give you a satisfactory answer. Eton, Westminster, Christ's Hospital, Sherborne and others are royal foundations, possessing landed endowments. Winchester, Harrow and Rugby are endowed foundations, their founders being English commoners.

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* At the recent Quincentenary Commemoration at Winchester College, Lord Selborne in proposing the time-honoured toast "Omnibus Wiccamicis," remarked that the Wykehamist's newspaper had accused the school of not providing men of genius, but that in his opinion, it was the object of the school to produce men of golden mediocrity, honest men and true, who would do their duty in life. He was satisfied for his part that the school had produced such men as Christopher Wordsworth and Herbert Stewart; and in the case of other schools, he doubted whether the men of genius, who had issued from them, as, *e. g.* Shelley, Byron and Wellington, had owed much to the training they had received.

A friendly critic in Sind has also given expression to similar sentiments: "It is easier to assert than to prove," he writes, "that Waterloo was won at Eton. The tenacity of Wellington was nothing higher than the purposeful life of Hannibal; and Hannibal probably was innocent of education at any school, public or private. Tenacity, heartiness, a stern, overmastering sense of truth, are the virtues of the Teutonic race; and though they may not shrivel up at a public school, they did not first blossom there. Adam Smith is often cited as a creation of Oxford. The philosopher himself speaks of the University with contempt. Great men would be great at any schools: and Wellington himself attributed his military genius to skill at the chess-board."

But what both opponents of the paradox at the head of this lecture seem to me to overlook is the many-sidedness of public-school life in England, the physical and social, as well as the intellectual forces that are silently at work on the mind and character of every boy in the school. The resultants of these forces differ of course largely in individual cases. The Duke of Wellington was not one of the most elegant scholars of his day, as his brother, the Marquess of Wellesley was; but the formative forces at a public school are not limited to scholarship. Shelley's life at Eton was a stormy one. Byron at Harrow was described by his headmaster, Dr. Drury, as "a wild mountain-colt, who might be led with a silken string rather than with a cable." But to say

Other schools, again, were founded by the munificence of companies. While some have acquired the status of public schools entirely through the intellectual force and administrative ability of their headmasters. Again, though most of the public schools are mainly boarding-schools, several of those in London itself are simply day-schools, without resident pupils. In three respects, however, all "public" schools agree.

(1) They are mainly or entirely attended by the sons of people of the higher classes of society, by which I mean the aristocracy and the professions, and they all educate pupils up to the age of 18 or 19.

(2) They all teach and lay great stress on Latin and Greek, and perhaps I may now add—though thirty years ago it was certainly not the general rule—Mathematics.

(3) Their curriculum being mainly framed with an eye to subsequent study at Oxford and Cambridge they are in touch and sympathy with those Universities and are indeed their mainstay, as a recruiting-ground.

Instruction is of course given in History and Geography; in Modern Languages (including the once much-neglected mother-tongue); in Music and Drawing; and in all the most progressive schools there is now a bifurcation of studies in the upper Forms, that is to say a "classical" side and a "modern" side, in the latter or both of which Natural Science is at last beginning to be given its due place in the curriculum. In fact

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that the years which each of these men spent, at the most impressionable time of his life, in the microcosm of a public school counted for little or nothing in shaping the bent of his genius and character, would seem to be even more improbable than that their environment in after-life in the great world itself had little or nothing to do with their being the men they were. Genius is just as much a product of evolution as mediocrity. So is race. And what is the main factor in evolution, but environment? When men show the qualities of many successive generations of ancestors, we say it is race. But those ancestral qualities are themselves the product of successive environments: and what we may and do confidently affirm of the environments of a succession of ancestors, we may even more confidently affirm of successive environments in a great man's life. We know so little about the laws of hereditary transmission that we speak of genius as the ancients spoke of the wind before the discovery of general meteorological laws,—we know not whence it cometh nor whither it goeth. But though we cannot, for example, trace Shakspere's genius in his immediate ancestors, will any one venture to deny that his genius was largely conditioned by the spirit of the 'spacious times of great Elizabeth'? School life, I venture to think, is an enormous, shaping factor in every man's life, whatever he may inherit from his race or kin. Shelley's unconscious tribute to Eton, and Byron's to Harrow, is to be seen in their life-long homage and devotion to Greek literature and to the Greek race. Shelley wrote: "We are all Greeks. Our laws, our literature, our religion, our arts have their root in Greece;" and of the Greeks themselves, he wrote as "those glorious beings whom the imagination almost refuses to figure to itself as belonging to our kind." It was at Eton under the guidance of his tutor and early friend, Dr. James Lind, that Shelley first drank of the streams of Arethusa. And though Dr. Drury termed Byron, "a wild mountain-colt," Byron in after-life spoke of Dr. Drury as "the best, the kindest (yet strict too) friend I had, and I look upon him still as a father." While of his other headmaster, he writes in his diary "I have retained many of my school friendships and all my dislikes, except to Dr. Butler, whom I treated rebelliously, and have been sorry ever since"; and it is a significant fact that before he embarked for Greece, he sought an interview with his old master and that they parted good friends.

in almost all the Public Schools there has been a liberal effort made during the last 15 years, to bring their teaching into closer accord with the spirit and needs of the times, to aim at keeping boys longer at school by doing away with the necessity for the crammer's skilful intervention. But when all this has been said, it still remains true that the best energies of the best teachers and the greater part of the school-day are given up to Latin, Greek and Mathematics.

On the other hand, there are many "private" secondary schools to which the whole of this description applies, the difference being one of degree rather than of kind,—of the scale on which the schools are planned, and not of anything in their social or intellectual status.

Until, therefore, secondary education in England is organised by the State on some uniform system and co-ordered with primary and university education, no other answer can be given to the question—Why are certain secondary schools called "public?" than that custom wills it so. It cannot be said that they are entirely subject to the public voice and devoted without restriction to the public good.

We have no Minister of Education in England to supply a centre in which to fix power and responsibility. The President, Vice-President and Committee of Council on Education are concerned with Primary and not with Higher general education.* But even they fail to give us a distinct centre of responsibility. Again, no *lehrplan* or curriculum of studies exists for either "public" or "private" secondary schools as a class: and there is of course no provision for their systematic inspection or examination, and no leaving examination corresponding to the *abiturienten-examen* in the *Gymnasien* of Germany. Further, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge prescribe no definite standard for matriculation: and the State leaves the whole field of higher education to private effort. It neither organises it, nor controls it, nor (with the exception of a grant of £15,000 lately voted by Parliament for "the assistance of University Colleges in Great Britain") aids it. "It might give test, stimulus, advice, dignity: but it withholds them all." Twice within the last 33 years, namely in 1861 and 1864 Royal Commissions have sat to enquire into and report on the condition of Secondary Schools (including the Public Schools). But the only practical result of these inquiries has been the Endowed Schools Act of 1869,—which under the working of the Charity Commissioners has brought about several useful changes in individual schools, but has necessarily done nothing to *co-order* secondary education.

Royal Commissions have also sat to enquire into questions of reform

* The Science and Art Department which is under the Lord President and Vice-President of the Council and is rendering services to the country at large, which are now the envy of France and Germany, is of course State machinery for *special* and not general Education.

in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge and they brought about considerable changes, first in 1852, and again in 1882 in the internal constitution and working of the Universities. But here, again, we got no nearer to any scheme of organisation for public instruction as a whole; nor, indeed, has such a scheme ever been so much as discussed in the House of Commons.

The Matriculation test at Oxford and Cambridge is applied by the colleges individually and at their discretion; and many of them have been exceedingly lax in administering it.

The Public Schools, similarly, govern themselves,—each as seems fit in the judgment of the Governors or Trustees and of the Headmaster:* and though, as I have said, the Public Schools are in touch with the Universities, the relations that co-exist are not organic, but have come about and are kept up by virtue of nearly all the masters being Oxford and Cambridge men.

The Germans and the French strongly condemn our want of system: and Matthew Arnold, who was officially deputed in 1865 to make a thorough investigation of the systems of higher education followed in France, Italy, Germany and Switzerland, and whose report, published in 1868, is still the most lucid and masterly exposition on the question of higher education that has ever been written, is of the same opinion as our continental critics. I will read you one of the most striking passages in his indictment, as it will greatly help you to a clear understanding of the position of higher education in England. He writes—

"Superior or University instruction [in England] is, in the opinion of the best judges, the weakest part of our whole educational system, and we must not hope to improve effectually the secondary school, without doing something for the schools above it, with which it has an intimate natural connexion. The want of the idea of science,—of systematic knowledge, is, as I have said again and again, the capital want, at this moment, of English education and of English life; it is the university, or the superior school which ought to foster this idea. The university or the superior school ought to provide facilities, after the general education is finished, for the young man to go on in the line where his special aptitudes lead him, be it that of languages and literature, of mathematics, of the natural sciences, of the application of those sciences, or any other line, and follow the studies of this line systematically under first-rate teaching. Our great Universities, Oxford and Cambridge, do next to nothing towards this end. They are, as Signor Matteucci called them, *hauts lycées*; and though invaluable in their way as places where the youth of the upper class prolong to a very great age, and under some very admirable influences, their school education, and though in this respect to be envied by the youth of the upper class abroad and if possible instituted for their benefit, yet, with their college and tutor system, nay, with their examination and degree system, they are still, in fact, *schools*, and do not carry education beyond the stage of general and school education. The examination for the degree of bachelor of arts, which we place at the end of our three years' university course, is merely the *Abiturientenexamen* of

* The governing body usually prescribes the results to be aimed at; the Headmaster the methods and programme of study.

Germany, the *épreuve du baccalauréat* of France, placed in both of these countries at the entrance to university studies instead of, as with us, at their close. Scientific instruction, university instruction, really begins when the degree of bachelor (*bas chevalier*, knight of low degree) is taken, and the preparation for mastership in any line of study, or for doctorship (fitness to teach it), commences. But for mastership or doctorship, Oxford and Cambridge have, as is well known, either no examination at all, or an examination which is a mere form; they have consequently no instruction directed to these grades; no real university instruction, therefore, at all. A machinery for such instruction they have, indeed, in their possession; but it is notorious that they do not practically use it."*

The reasons for this want of scientific system are not far to seek. *In the first place*, the wealth, public spirit and energy of the upper class in England are enormous. *Secondly*, it is to the efforts of this class, seconded from time to time by royal munificence, that we owe the English Universities; and also the whole of the net-work of public and private secondary schools, the technical and other special schools, and a very large proportion of our primary schools, both urban and rural. *Thirdly*, this upper class has been for centuries in sole possession of the field of higher education and glories in its powers of self-help. It naturally, therefore, resents the idea of state-intervention and state-control as an invasion of prescriptive rights. There is a deeply-rooted disbelief in England in the power of Government to do anything as well as the people can do it themselves; and an equally firm belief in the efficacy of the machinery which private effort has set up.

You see, then, that the attitude of the upper class in regard to state-control is exactly the reverse of what it is in India, where, as we all know, every one with a child-like trust looks to a paternal government to take the lead, as well as the lion's share of the responsibility, in all public affairs.

But in spite of this innate dislike of Government interference in England, Matthew Arnold's contention cannot be denied "that wherever there is a school or college-endowment, there is a right of public supervision, and, if necessary, of a resettlement of the endowment by public authority: and that wherever, again, there is a school-endowment from the Crown or the State, there is a right to the State of participation in the management of the endowment and of representation on the body which manages it." The recognition of these two propositions must in time bring about an organised system of public instruction.

But there is another—and a social—consideration which will sooner or later work towards the same end: and this point has been put with such great force by Matthew Arnold that I make no apology for again quoting his actual words:

"On the Continent, the upper and middle class are brought up on one and the same plane.

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* *Higher Schools and Universities in Germany*, pp. 208-210.

In England the middle class, as a rule, *is brought up on the second plane.* One hears many discussions as to the limits between the middle and the upper class in England. From an educational point of view these limits are perfectly clear. Half-a-dozen famous schools, Oxford or Cambridge, the army or navy, and those posts in the public service supposed to be posts for gentlemen,—these are the schools all or any one of which give a training, a stamp, a cast of ideas, which make a sort of association of all those who share them, and this association is the upper class. Except by one of these modes of access an Englishman does not unless by some special play of aptitude or of circumstances, become a vital part of this association, for he does not bring with him the cast of ideas in which its bond of union lies. This cast of ideas is naturally for the most part that of the most powerful and prominent part of the association, the aristocracy. The professions furnish the more numerous but the less prominent part; and in no country, accordingly do the professions so naturally and generally share the cast of ideas of the aristocracy as in England.* This cast of ideas judged from its good side is characterised by a high spirit, by dignity, by a just sense of the greatness of great affairs,—all of them governing qualities; and the professions have accordingly long recruited the governing force of the aristocracy, and assisted it to rule. Judged from its bad side this cast of ideas is characterised by its indisposition and incapacity for science, for systematic knowledge. The professions are on the Continent the stronghold of science and systematic knowledge; in England from the reason above assigned, they are not. They are also in England separate, to a degree unknown on the Continent, from the commercial and industrial class, with which in social standing they are naturally on a level. So we have amongst us the spectacle of a middle class cut in two in a way unexampled anywhere else; of a professional class brought up on the first plane, with fine and governing qualities, but without the idea of science; while that immense business-class, which is becoming so important a power in all countries, on which the future so much depends, and which in the leading schools of other countries fills so large a place, is in England brought up on the second plane, cut off from the aristocracy and the professions, and without governing qualities.

If only, in compensation, it had science, systematic knowledge! The stronghold of science should naturally be in a nation's middle class, who have neither luxury nor bodily toil to bar them from it. But here comes in the intellectual inconvenience of the bad condition of the mass of our secondary schools. On the Continent, if the professions were as aristocratic in their indifference to science, as they are here, the business-class, educated as it is, would at once wrest the lead from them, and would be fit to do so. But here in England, the business class is not only inferior to the professions in the social stamp of its places of training, it is actually inferior to them, maimed and incomplete as their intellectual development is, in its intellectual development. Short as the offspring of our public schools and universities come of the idea of science and systematic knowledge, the offspring of our middle class academies probably come, if that be possible, even shorter. What these academies fail to give in social and governing qualities, they do not make up for in intellectual power."—(*Higher Schools and Universities in Germany*, pp. 188-191.)

But the amended Elementary Education Act of 1870 is now in full working: and it has already, in the life-time of a single generation, brought about such a wide-spread evolution of intellectual advancement, that the time cannot be far distant when the lower-middle and the industrial classes will insist on a co-ordered system of higher schools under State-control, on the systematic improvement of existing private

* In an article by Mr. A. F. Leach, in *the Contemporary Review* for July 1893, he points out that each of these classes has acted beneficially on the other, and so enabled the English people to advance by Reform Bills instead of Revolutions.

secondary schools and on an increase in their present number or accommodation. In Wales, indeed, under the Welsh Intermediate Education Act and the Local Taxation Act of 1890; and in Scotland under a section of the Education and Local Taxation Account Act of 1892 this movement has already begun. England will have, sooner or later, to follow. For no modern nation, however free may be its institutions, can afford to do without a rationally planned and effective organisation.*

And then will come a Minister of Education and the co-ordering by the State of the whole field of education, under the immediate supervision of County and Municipal Councils. But it will be an extremely complex and difficult matter to tackle; and to carry it through will demand a statesman with the courage, the eloquence and the personal ascendency of a Gladstone. The States of France and Prussia were the first to assume this enormous responsibility—the latter taking the matter in hand in 1809 under the guidance of Wilhelm von Humboldt, who in the same year created the University of Berlin. Switzerland followed about 30 years later: and Italy in 1859. But in none of these countries, when this reform was commenced, had the people already done so much for themselves or shown themselves possessed of such great energy and pecuniary resources as the reformer will have to reckon with in England. State-control in England, therefore, whenever it does come, will probably be much less complete and paternal than it is on the Continent. In France, indeed, private effort is almost entirely crushed out of the field: and the State's control throughout the length and breadth of the land constitutes an over-centralised system, which the English people would never tolerate for a single day.† The French University, it has been well said, has no liberty: the English Universities have no science, in its strict sense: the German Universities have both. But when England does resolve to have an education Reform Bill, I venture to predict that she will not slavishly follow either France or Germany, but will strike out a line of her own in harmony with the genius and institutions of her island-people, whose love of the sea and its freedom always sets its seal on all her happiest achievements.

* Matthew Arnold's *Higher Schools and Universities in Germany*, page 182. Practical proofs that this opinion is rapidly gaining ground in England itself are to be seen in the last 20 years growth of the operations of (1) the *Science and Art Department*, with its Royal College of Science directed by Professor Huxley, its Museums and its gigantic organization for the encouragement of Art in schools of all grades throughout the country: (2) the *Oxford and Cambridge Local Examining Boards*; (3) the *Royal College of Preceptors*; (4) the *University Extension Scheme* "for providing the means of higher education for persons of all classes and of both sexes engaged in the regular occupations of life."

† "The French system, as judged from an English point of view, appears to have the merit of being a perfect piece of machinery for the cultivation of the intellect. On the moral side it seems to be weak."—*Report of the Schools Enquiry Commission of* 1864-8, *p.* 61, *Vol. I.*

I pass on, with no little sense of relief, from this preliminary discussion of the machinery of education in England and of the relative position which the Public Schools occupy in the midst of it,—for this large question bristles with difficulties,—to justify the remark which I made at the beginning of my lecture, namely that these public schools,—in spite of all their alleged defects,—are one of the glories of the English people.

Probably what first of all strikes an Indian visitor to one of these paradises of boy-hood is the immense importance which is attached to the physical exercise and development of the boys. Cricket and football; rowing and swimming; racquets, fives, lawn-tennis and hockey: athletic sports; shooting and drill in the School Rifle Corps; gymnastics, boxing and fencing—in almost all of these exercises, but especially in Cricket and Football, every boy, unless specially exempted by medical authority, is required to take active part. A healthy English school-boy, however, needs no compulsion in this respect. The difficulty, if any, is all the other way.

Cricket and football, and at Eton rowing also, hold the first place of honour, and monopolise the greater part of the boys' recreation-time, which, I may here mention, is three half holidays a week in Summer, and two in the Winter and Easter-terms, besides a certain number of hours in the other three days of the week. Roughly speaking, the boys spend on the average about five hours a day in summer and three hours a day in the two other terms on the play-ground, this being exclusive of two hours a week in the gymnasium.

The cricket-club of every public school engages the services of one or more professional cricketers to teach the boys proper form in bowling and batting and to coach them generally in the game. While as for the cricket-matches, I will only say that they must be seen in order to understand the height to which school-boy enthusiasm can rise. The Eton and Harrow match is always played at Lord's Cricket-Ground in London: and it is one of the sights of the London season, the spectators frequently numbering 20,000 persons and comprising the *élite* of English society. The football matches likewise excite unbounded enthusiasm especially at Winchester, Westminster and Charterhouse, and at Rugby, Cheltenham, Marlborough, Fettes and Loretto: and the same may be said of the aquatic contests at Eton and at the Henley Regatta, in which most of the public schools that are strong in rowing compete.

It may seem to be the mere boasting of English pride, but I believe it to be the literal truth, that there are no public schools in any other country which come up to the English schools in what I may call play-ground spirit and enthusiasm. Germany runs us close in her

gymnasiums; but German boys have nothing which affords so fine a training—both physical and moral, as our boys have in cricket; nor have they anything like so great a diversity of amusement and interest in the play-ground as we have. An ex-school-boy of one of the great English schools in fact regards the gymnastics of a foreign school with a slight feeling of wonder and compassion, so much more animating and interesting do the games of his remembrance seem to him. In France, as M. Lagrange tells us, games have almost fallen into oblivion, even among the children of the well-to-do: and it has been observed in French lycées that boys have stopped growing at as early an age as twelve in consequence of excessive practice in the gymnasium. As Sir Morell Mackenzie points out, "not only is the growth interfered with, but deformity and even disease frequently result from premature over-use of the muscles." In Belgium some years ago, open-air games had become a lost art, and a movement was set on foot (as I learn from the authority just quoted) by some enlightened educational reformers to teach children to play! "So well have the games answered, that gymnastic apparatus, trapezes, &c., have now all but disappeared from Belgian Schools. The result is that the children are straighter, stronger and more gay, the last point being, even as regards health, just as important as the others." In India we are certainly much in advance of the French, especially in the schools in the city of Bombay, where on the great maidan you may see the utmost enthusiasm in the school-boy crowd that assembles when the Parsis play the Gymkhana or an eleven from England. Looking back to what I remember to have been the state of things at Elphinstone and other large schools in Bombay 20 years or more ago, I see a most remarkable change now-a-days, not only among Parsi but also among Hindu and Mahomedan boys. *Then* it seemed almost hopeless to get more than a mere sprinkling of the 800 Elphinstonians to take any pride in the school cricket-club. The Marathi side altogether held aloof and had almost to be dragged on to the cricket-ground: and there was endless trouble about the cricket-subscriptions. We have changed all that now. But even still I know of no Indian school in which the play-ground spirit runs so high as in the public schools of England, in which almost every boy, from the top to the bottom, seems to be possessed by the spirit of cricket or football or some other really great game, and in which, by boys and masters alike, these fine exercises are seriously held to be, not mere games* which a boy may join in or not, as he chooses, but absolutely essential to a healthy school-boy's life.

* Cricket is a liberal education in itself: and all friends of public instruction in the Bombay Presidency will, for many years to come, feel grateful to H. E. Lord Harris for the trouble he has taken in demonstrating to our cricket-clubs the true chivalry of the game.

To find a true counterpart to this spirit—I might almost say to this physical cult—in England, we must go back to the ancient Greeks,—to their *gymnasia* and to their Isthmian and Olympic games. They, like ourselves, maintained that high physical culture in the young is the only true basis of moral and intellectual excellence. The whole education of a Greek youth was divided into three parts,—*gymnastics*, *music* and *grammar*, to which Aristotle adds a fourth,—the art of *drawing* or *painting*. But gymnastics (*gumnastiké*) comprised school-games and athletic sports, or all the more important exercises which were necessary for the public contests in their great festivals. The word had therefore a much wider meaning then, than it has now. Greek gymnastics moreover were thought a matter of such importance that this part of education alone occupied as much time and attention as all the others put together; and while the latter necessarily ceased when a boy left school, these gymnastics continued to be cultivated by persons of all ages, very much as cricket and athletic sports are in modern England. And what better proof can we have of the physiological truth of this Greek dictum than the concrete example of the Greeks themselves? The faultless and unrivalled beauty of their statuary, much of which still exists, makes it certain that, in beauty and perfection of form and *physique*, they must have been the finest race the world has ever seen. While in the splendour of their intellectual achievements, they have never been surpassed by any other people. In this identity of opinion and practice between the old Greeks and ourselves we have a fresh illustration of the historic accuracy of those great lines in Shelley's Hellas:—

> But Greece and her foundations are
> Built below the tide of war,
> Based on the crystalline sea
> Of thought and its eternity.
> Her citizens, imperial spirits,
> Rule the present from the past;
> On all this world of men inherits
> Their seal is set.

If I were not an Englishman, I might venture to push this comparison still farther and say: not only is the Greeks' seal set on the Public Schools of England, but their mantle has fallen upon the English race: and those "imperial spirits," as Shelley calls them, live again in the British Isles. But being an Englishman, I must of course refrain from saying this, more especially as the Professor of Logic is present to remind me that this boast, even if true, would not be relevant to my argument. Let my claim to your forgiveness, therefore, be that in listening to a poet like Shelley, at the moment when his

> eye in a fine frenzy rolling,
> Doth glance from heaven to earth and earth to heaven,

one is apt to catch some of his "harmonious madness" and to say things which the world will not listen to.

The next point that the visitor from India will not fail to note is the clan-like spirit of the boys,—their personal pride in being pupils of the school, in its splendid material equipments, in its traditions, its rites and ceremonies, its leading boys' athletic and intellectual distinctions,—all in short, that relates to its good name and fame. Dr. Vaughan, who was for 15 years Headmaster of Harrow and is acknowledged to have been one of the three greatest English Schoolmasters in the present century, has termed this intensity of noble pride in the school-boy breast the chief glory of the Public Schools. I wish we had more of it in the Indian Public Schools. But this fair plant thrives only in the sunshine of the mind: whereas the Indian school-boy in his aims and hopes too often persists in living perpetually in the shadow—that baneful, blighting shadow—of examinations.

Thirdly, the vitality of this corporate feeling in the English schools, and the broad and liberal spirit in which their whole system has been planned, gives the boys the greatest possible diversity of interests. Every school has its literary Paper or Magazine, which is edited by one of the senior boys or by one of the masters, and is contributed to by boys and masters alike. Most schools have also a Debating and Literary Society: and some have a Chess-Club, a Natural History Society (and the English boy's love of the open air and of fresh woods and pastures new brings him an admirable training of eye and ear, which by an easy transition, passes on into an interest in some branch of Natural History); an Antiquarian Society; a Philathletic Club or Sports Committee; an Art Society; a Glee Club or other musical society. Winchester has a Shakspere Society presided over by one of the masters: and rich and aristocratic Eton keeps a pack of beagles. Lastly, every school holds its annual dinner, which is largely attended by ex-pupils of the school,—*old* boys we call them,—and at which the old stimulate the new and the new the old, and both alike cherish the love of *alma mater* as if it were that sacred and inviolable fire, which in a Greek *Prytaneum* or Zoroastrian temple* must never be allowed to go out. How real and lasting this feeling is you can see for yourselves without going out of India: for every year the Indian newspapers tell you how Etonians, Harrovians, Cheltonians and other English public-school men who are serving in India religiously keep up this old dinner-custom. Only a few weeks ago, moreover, at the great Quincentenary Festival at Winchester College, the Warden announced that Mr. A. L. P. Tucker (whom some of you will remember as once an

* In a Parsi fire-temple at Udwada in Gujerat there is sacred fire which, it is said, has been uninterruptedly burning for the last 1280 years.

Assistant Collector in Karachi) had presented to the school an address, signed by 50 old Wykehamists now resident in India.

Fourthly, the free spirit of independence and self-help, which is such a marked feature in English life generally, is very noticeable on the play-grounds of the public schools: while in exuberance of animal spirits I should say that English boys have no rivals. Add to this that the principle on which the schools are governed is utterly opposed to that *espionage* of the boys, which the French hold to be so indispensable in all their Lycées. Nevertheless admirable discipline prevails in the English public schools. How is this attained? By two very simple forces.

Firstly, by a generous trust in the honour of the boys themselves to do what is right and to avoid what is base or mean,—severe penalties being always in reserve (like the Nemesis of Nature's laws) for any violation of this trust that may come to notice.

And, secondly, by the Prefect-system of self-government, through the leading boys of the school. In a large boarding-school there is no ascendency over the school-boy mind which is so potent, for good or evil, as the tone and example of the sixth Form. As is the "sixth," so is the rest of the school, holds good of all that goes to form the tone of the school and the schoolboy's code of honour. The great Dr. Arnold of Rugby was not in the least exaggerating the power of his "sixth" when he once said to them:—

"You should feel like officers in the army or navy, whose want of moral courage would, indeed, be thought cowardice. . . . . When I have confidence in the Sixth, there is no post in England which I would exchange for this; but if they do not support me, I must go."

To the French understanding all this seems to savour of Quixotic madness: and in India, I am afraid, it is only dimly seen as yet to be sober sense.* But every public-school man in England knows that the mainspring of this delicate moral mechanism is the Headmaster himself; and that it is on the kind of ascendency that he exerts over his Sixth that the success or the failure of Prefect-government depends.

* Since these words were written, I read in the *St. James's Budget* of the 4th August, the following opinion expressed by Dr. Haig-Brown, the Headmaster of Charterhouse and the Nestor of our Public School Chiefs still in office:

"It would be impossible to keep discipline in such a school as this without a Sixth Form and I let the Sixth pervade every Department of the School; for I make it a rule that no boy can be a cricket or foot-ball captain unless he is in the Sixth. It is our system of Sixth Forms that makes the chief difference between our public schools and those on the Continent. A German Professor, who was sent over by his Government some years ago to report on our public school system, said 'that German boys know more books and languages when they leave school, but that English boys are far more thoroughly men of the world;' and that is perfectly true. You cannot judge how a boy will turn out in after life only by the position he takes in school. The French system so far as the building of a boy's character is concerned is fearful. It is a system of espionage, which leaves them not a moment free till the day when they are suddenly precipitated upon the world to do what they will; and that is terrible."

Allusion to the character of the ascendency of the Headmasters brings me to my *fifth* salient point. It would be hard, I think, to exaggerate the power and influence of their personality and the respect with which they are regarded, not only by the boys, assistant-masters and parents, but by the public at large. It is not merely that they are men of the highest academic distinctions and learning,—many a great scholar, mathematician or philosopher is utterly unfit to be a head-master. It is rather that they are men of action as well as men of thought,—first-rate administrators as well as first-rate teachers. To be a successful head-master the teacher must be more than his teaching: he must be a great personality, fixing and dominating the whole tone and character of the school and commanding the respectful subordination of every one within its walls. In his own sphere the head-master of an English public school is practically absolute to an extent unknown in any other country: and the way in which this power is exercised has very rarely indeed given occasion for public protest.

You will all of you remember that touching scene at the end of *Tom Brown's School-days*,—how the old Rugby boy hastens down from his fishing in Scotland on hearing of the sudden death of Dr. Arnold, and, entering into the solemn stillness of the School Chapel at Rugby, stands, bowed with silent grief, over the fresh grave of his revered master. The silent homage of that young man is drawn to the life: and accurately measures the feeling of every true public-school boy towards his school-chief. But it would be impossible to measure the moral and intellectual debt which England owes to the Headmasters of its Public Schools; and especially to those three, who seem to stand, as it were, on an eminence by themselves, viz., Dr. Arnold, Dr. Vaughan and Dr. Temple. Dr. Arnold who was head of Rugby from 1827 to 1842 almost may be said to have ruled the spirit as well as the organization of our public schools, at a time when the old schools were about to have new life infused into them and when new schools were about to be started on the model of the old: and, like those "imperial spirits" I spoke of just now, he still "rules the present from the past." Dr. Vaughan, who was at Harrow from 1844 to 1859, did for that school what Dr. Arnold did for Rugby. And Dr. Temple in his administration of Rugby, from 1858 to 1868, completed and developed the reforms which Dr. Arnold and his immediate successors, Dr. Tait and Dr. Goulburn, had introduced. This personal list could of course easily be extended; for, as I have said, England is proud of its headmasters; and every public-school man has some good story to tell of one or more of them. But time forbids. I will only add that English society, in the

aristocracy, the public service, the professions, is richly leavened with public-school men; and that its "cast of ideas," its "high spirit and dignity" and its "just sense of the greatness of great affairs" are very largely the resultants of forces which have been either first set in motion or wisely directed by the headmasters.*

Sixthly, let us take a glance at the class-rooms. You would, I think, specially note that the masters have all received the best liberal education that the country affords and that most of them thoroughly understand their business; that the pace of their teaching is somewhat quicker than in an Indian School, and that the boys in the higher forms commit to memory ten times as much good verse as is set boys in this country during the year, and that they turn it to excellent practical account both in class and in their written exercises; that in the sixth Form the boys read, both in classics and mathematics, considerably beyond what is necessary for mere admission to a college at Oxford and Cambridge and that the level of their attainments is very considerably higher than it is in the highest Form of any Indian High School. On the other hand, you would probably think that the average English boy is not so patient and industrious as our boys are in this country.

But what would strike you most of all is the happy freedom in all the English boy's studies from the thraldom and dominating sway of examinations. H. M.'s Inspectors of Schools in England have nothing to do with the public schools: and no sixth Form boy, who is going on to Oxford or Cambridge, ever troubles himself about the

* The object of this lecture being to present those features of public-school life in England which would most strike and interest an Indian visitor, I have refrained from touching on its religious aspect. My presentment of the subject is necessarily, therefore, incomplete. For the services in the chapel and other means of religious edification are a very great factor in the English schoolboy's life. In his *Life of Dr. Arnold*, Dean Stanley writes: "If there is any one place at Rugby more than another which was especially the scene of Dr. Arnold's labours, both as a teacher and as a master, it is the School-chapel . . . . . He was not the preacher or the clergyman, who had left behind all his usual thoughts and occupations as soon as he had ascended the pulpit. He was still the scholar, the historian, and theologian, basing all that he said, not indeed ostensibly, but consciously, and often visibly, on the deepest principles of the past and present. He was still the instructor and the schoolmaster, only teaching and educating with increased solemnity and energy. He was still the simple-hearted and earnest man, labouring to win others to share in his own personal feelings of disgust at sin, and love of goodness, and to trust to the same faith, in which he hoped to live and die himself. It is difficult to describe, without seeming to exaggerate, the attention with which he was heard by all above the very young boys. Years have passed away, and many of his pupils can look back to hardly any greater interest than that with which, for those twenty minutes, Sunday after Sunday, they sat beneath that pulpit, with their eyes fixed upon him, and their attention strained to the utmost to catch every word that he uttered. . . . . On many there was left an impression to which, though unheeded at the time, they recurred in after life." And another of Dr. Arnold's pupils has recorded: "I used to listen to his sermons from first to last with a kind of awe, and over and over again could not join my friends at the chapel-door, but would walk home to be alone; and I remember the same effects being produced by them, more or less, on others, whom I should have thought as hard as stones, and on whom I should think Arnold looked as some of the worst boys in the School."

Matriculation test. An English public school in fact is like the island in which it stands,—it owes no allegiance to any outside authority. It is in friendly relations with the universities: and in many instances its boys enjoy the exclusive right of competing for certain scholarships at some of the Colleges in Oxford and Cambridge, as, *e.g.* Eton at King's and Merton Colleges; Winchester at New College; Westminster at Christ Church, Oxford, and Trinity College, Cambridge: but its school curriculum is not dominated by any particular University or examination.* It has indeed an "Army Class" or classes on the "Modern" side which have framed their teaching with an eye to the course at Woolwich and Sandhurst and to the subjects special to the Indian Civil Service Examination. But, as I have already said, these special classes were expressly designed to prevent cram,—to keep boys from leaving school prematurely and from sacrificing the incalculable benefits of the many-sidedness of public-school life for mere brain-work in London with Messrs. Wren, James or Wolfram, at whose establishments, I venture to think, (though I know I am touching on a burning question) the main business is that of making up a student's knowledge of a given subject into neat intellectual cartridges, to be fired off on a certain day at the examination-target. The crammer's candidates no doubt get more "bull's eyes" than the public-school youths. But that seems rather to make for my contention that the public schools set their face against cram and will have nothing to do with the cartridge-system of teaching. But however you settle this vexed question, the chief point remains that the public schools are almost the only institutions in England which have kept themselves free, in the main, from the enslaving dominion of examinations.

In Germany it is so clearly seen that examinations will never give a love for the things of the mind, that tutors are constantly warning their pupils against *Brodstudien, i.e.* Bread-studies or studies pursued with a view to examinations and posts. With the Germans it is entirely the boy's school and training that they think the great matter and not his examination: and they require that a boy shall have been for a certain number of years under good school-training, merely using the examination test (which is applied with the greatest discretion and fairness to the

* I am simply stating the facts as they are, and not arguing inferentially against the use, but abuse of examinations. There can be little doubt that the English Public Schools would benefit, (1) by, say, a triennial inspection, by special and permanent officers appointed by Government, of the state of the buildings and apparatus, and of the discipline and general working; and (2) by annual examinations of the scholars. Lord Taunton's commission actually recommended this in 1868, and added that the rules for the examination of the schools should be framed, as much as possible, so as to leave the schools perfect independence in their work and to test how far they had fulfilled duties imposed on them by their own authorities.

examinee)* as a help to secure this. In England, except in the public schools, we leave a boy's training to take its chance and we put the examination test to a use, for which it is quite inadequate, to try and make up for our neglect. Our examinations, in fact, do not follow the school, but compel the school to follow them. In India matters are still worse: for the High Schools for the most part, unlike the public schools in England, bow down in abject worship before our examination-system. Their very nomenclature smacks of examinations. Thus the highest Form in a High School is commonly called alas! the "Matriculation" Class or the "School Final Examination" Class: and High Schools are every year classed and rated by the number of boys who have passed the Matriculation or School-Final Examination. In England the Sixth Form boys own to no other name than "the sixth": and any attempt to rate Eton, Harrow and Winchester by the number of young men in the sixth who have entered at Oxford and Cambridge during a given year, would merely raise a smile of bewildered amusement.

Seventhly, I must say a word about the cost of education at a public school. From what I have already told you of the scale on which the schools are planned and worked you will see that the education they give must be somewhat costly. I hold in my hand the three terminal school-bills for the year 1889 of a boy who was at Sherborne and I will read you the items of the bill for the summer term :—

Necessary Fees, due in advance—	£	s.	d.
Tuition fee	7	10	0
Medical fee	0	14	0
Games	0	7	0
Gymnasium and Drilling ...	0	7	0
Library	0	2	0
Swimming Bath for Season ...	.....		
Optional Expenses—			
Private tuition	.....		
Advanced Drawing	.....		
Instrumental Music	.....		
Laboratory	.....		
Swimming Lessons	.....		
Workshop	.....		
Cadet Corps	.....		
Total—£...	9	0	0

Boarding-House Expenses—	£	s.	d.
Board in Master's House due in advance...	18	15	0
Fire & Lights in Private Study...	0	10	6
Allowance (*i.e.* pocket money)...	1	6	0
Damages	.....		
Cash advanced for journeys ...	0	15	0
Extra cash	.....		
Letters, Parcels and Postage ...	0	1	9
Lectures and Concerts	0	2	0
Stationery and Note books ...	0	6	5
Hymn book	.....		
Bills as enclosed (*i.e.* local tradesmen's bills)	10	19	5
Amount as above...	32	16	1
School expenses brought forward	9	0	0
Total—£...	41	16	1

* Partial failure in some subjects is allowed to some degree to be balanced by extraordinary merit in others. The examination is said to be careful but not excessive; nor is it in any sense competitive. It is ordered to be such as to tempt to no special preparation and effort, but such as scholar of fair ability and proper diligence may at the end of his course come to with a quiet mind, and without painful preparatory effort tending to relaxation and torpor as soon as the effort is over. A boy who cannot get his certificate at all may still go to the University and attend lectures. He cannot however get any of the university privileges, and this excludes him from all the liberal professions. *Schools Enquiry Commission's Report* of 1864-8, vol. I., p. 68.

The school-year is divided into 3 terms. You may therefore put the year's expenses at £41-16-1 × 3 or at £125. Sherborne is one of the least expensive of the public schools. At Rugby the year's charges are seldom less than £175; and at Eton, Harrow or Winchester they are hardly ever below £200, unless indeed a boy has been fortunate enough to secure an Entrance or Foundation Scholarship. It must also be borne in mind that these figures include a boy's expenses during term-time only. His home-expenses in the holidays, and other items, come to at least £30 more. So that you may say that for each year that a boy is at a public school he costs his father at least £150.* At the German Eton, Schulpforta, the cost of a boy's board, tuition, &c., rarely exceeds £50 a year. At the *Gymnasien* or public schools in Germany no boarders are taken; and the tuition-fees amount to rather less than 20 thalers or £3 per annum, which is pretty much what boys pay at the Karachi High School. As compared, moreover, with the tuition fee in England of £22-10, you will see that German and Indian parents are let off very easily.

But there are two other differences between public-school education in England and in India which it will be instructive to mention here.

In the first place, in England no negotiation with the school-authorities for the admission or withdrawal of a boy, and no school-payments, are ever made by the school-boy himself, but by his parents or guardian. English boys are kept in much stricter subordination both by their parents and masters than Indian boys usually are, and the general practice in India of letting the precocious school-boy negotiate all these matters with the head master or class-master direct, without his father or guardian ever appearing on the scene, or even in some cases without his father's knowledge, would be thought in England to be a gross breach of decorum and good manners, and also a loosening of parental ties and the surrender of a father's proper dignity and natural authority.

There is not the least doubt that this bad custom has done incalculable harm to the school-boy himself. It has struck at the roots of that subordination and deference to age and authority, which is one of the brightest and best ornaments of youth, and which no public school can afford to dispense with, if it is rightly to do its part in the recruitment of the country with good and loyal citizens.

The second difference springs from the first. Parental indifference or dislike of trouble on the one side, and, on the other, want of proper dignity in many, though I am glad to say

* For day-scholars living with their parents in the neighbourhood of the school—and most of the public schools receive such pupils—the school-charges seldom exceed £30 a year.

not all, of the school-authorities, having left the Indian school-boy to think and act for himself in matters with which personally he ought never to be allowed to have anything to do, is it surprising that he should have framed ideals of his own that are quite unlike those of school-boys in any other country? This it is which is at the root of half the difficulties of school-management in India. A headmaster pronounces a pupil unfit for promotion to a higher class or for University studies. Straightway the boy transfers himself, with or without his father's knowledge, to another school; or persuades his father to send him up to the University Entrance or School Final Examination with a private tutor's certificate; or perhaps, in less extreme cases, instead of rendering unquestioning submission to the headmaster's decision, he persuades parents and friends to commence a series of importunities to shake the headmaster's decision; and, if these fail, to appeal to the Educational Inspector to intervene. But this is not all. The habitual usurpation of the functions of his elders has made the Indian school-boy as a rule intensely worldly, and old beyond his years. Hence he looks upon examinations, involving pass-ports to employment, as the goal of his existence: and everything at school as merely helping or thwarting him in his race towards it. How can a youth like this acquire that public-school pride which Dr. Vaughan terms the glory of English Public Schools, when, at the slightest check to his ambition in one school, he is off to another? How can he ever come to regard his school with the affection of a child for its mother or enter into school delights with the true abandonment and enthusiasm of a simple-minded boy, when the simplicity and gaiety of boyhood have been prematurely destroyed? It is impossible. In a letter which Sir Henry Sidney wrote to his son, the famous Sir Philip Sidney, when the latter was a boy at Shrewsbury School, he wrote:—

"Give yourself to be merry; for you degenerate from your father, if you find not yourself most able in wit and body to do anything when you are most merry. But let your mirth be ever void of all scurrility and biting words to any man; for a wound given by a word is often times harder to be cured than that which is given by the sword."*

And the poet Gray says of the Eton boys in his days—

Gay Hope is theirs by fancy fed,
Less pleasing when possest;
The tear forgot as soon as shed,
The sunshine of the breast:
Theirs buxom Health, of rosy hue,
Wild Wit, Invention ever new,
And lively Cheer, of Vigour born;
The thoughtless day, the easy night,
The spirits pure, the slumbers light
That fly the approach of morn.

* I give in Appendix I. the whole of the Lord President's letter to his son, together with a Postscript by Lady Sidney, as it admirably exemplifies—in 16th Century English—the true tone and attitude which wise parents in all countries will adopt both towards their sons at school and towards the school-authorities.

But the Indian school-boy too often will not take his youth in this way, but persists in fixing his gaze, as the poet does in the next four stanzas of his poem, on what lies before him in the world. But the poet's vision is that of a sad and thoughtful old man. Yet even he at the end of the poem comes back to the only true stand-point of boyhood, when he exclaims—

> Yet, ah! why should they know their fate,
> Since sorrow never comes too late,
> And happiness too swiftly flies?
> Thought would destroy their paradise!
> No more :—where ignorance is bliss,
> 'Tis folly to be wise.

But Indian school-boys *will* be wise, above their years: and so we see them—

> Hand in hand, with wandering steps and slow,
> Through Eden take their solitary way.

How different all this is in the English public schools, it has been the design of this lecture to show: and, as one who has spent, and very happily spent, more than twenty-six years of his life with the upper classes of the people of this Presidency, and who wishes to see their public schools entering on more equal terms into honourable rivalry with the great public schools of England, I would earnestly say to all teachers and parents:—Raise the Indian school-boy's ideals. Do not allow him to commit that very folly of being wise, by which man's first paradise was lost. When

> In either hand the hastening Angel caught
> Our lingering parents, and to the eastern gate
> Led them direct, and down the cliff as fast
> To the subjécted plain,

something of lost Paradise they took with them, which, in spite of all the wrong-doing and misery of the world, is to this day the inalienable possession of men of every race and clime. Youth and Joy, those "blissful twins" of the soul, as Milton calls them, are still the priceless heritage of the young: and parents and teachers are by a law of Nature and of Society the warders and trustees of that heritage. What parents have to do as one of the parties to this great trust is to sanctify their children's homes by their own tone and example, to brighten and invigorate home-life not only by loving sympathy with their children, but by a keen and intelligent watchfulness over their education—over the processes and results of the training which their boys and girls are getting at school, and which includes bodily health and growth, as well as development of mind and character.

The reason why the Scotch are one of the keenest and best educated

peoples in the world is not that they have got a perfectly organised system of schools, colleges and universities. Their machinery of education is, in fact, very inferior in point of organisation to what we have in the Bombay Presidency. "Their universities do not act in concert with the Burgh Schools, nor the Burgh Schools with the Parochial:" and there are other organic defects in their system. But it is, that outside that system there is a force at work which supplies each individual school with extraordinary life and vigour: and *that force is to be traced to Scotch home-life*—to its deeply religious tone and to the intense interest which the parents take in the progress of their children at school. The responsibility, the whole cost, the guidance of their children's education, are all felt by the parents to be their own, and the result is that they give their hearts to a task which in many respects none others can do so well. I do not say that we should transplant the Scotch system—or, if you will, their want of system—into India. It is the growth of three centuries on Scotch soil and in Scotch air, and would probably not thrive in the tropics. But if we in India, could catch something of the spirit of Scotch homes, we should give to Indian education one of those two supreme forces which it needs to make it a living and permanent benefit to the people. "The homes of a people," it has been said, "first make the schools, before the schools have a chance of making the homes. School-education is in the main what the homes choose it to be. Whatever the homes demand, in time they get. If their demand is good, they raise the schools to its level; if bad, they drag them down to that."

But this view only half states the problem which we have to solve in India. It is not merely a question of demand determining supply, but also of supply educating and elevating the demand. In other words, the Teacher—the other party to the trust—has his duties and responsibilities: and of the two his are, I think, the heavier. If the home-life and home-influences of our school-boys generally are very far from being what they ought to be—and in Sind both parents and teachers assure me that this is not a supposition, but a fact,—then *the schools have got to educate both parents and pupils*. The duty before the teacher, therefore, is one of immense difficulty. Schoolmasters who go through their work in the spirit of hirelings,—men without heart, or conscience, or any due sense of being one of the parties to a sacred trust,—these men are not Teachers, but traitors to Society; and I do not here speak of them.* But from the

* There is also a third or intermediate class of schoolmasters, who deserve to be called neither hirelings nor Teachers. The late Headmaster of Uppingham School, Rev. E. Thring, used to term them *Hammerers*. No schoolmaster probably will ever admit, even to himself, that he *is* a Hammerer. So I will say—Let all who think themselves *Teachers*, study the aphorisms which I have reprinted in Appendix II.

Teacher,—the man who knows what he has undertaken to do and strives to do it as well as he can, this duty demands the utmost patience, tact and courage. It is idle to suppose that he can shrink back from it on the plea that he is not a hero, or that he can creditably play the part of Mr. Facing-both-ways. Duty arising from a trust admits of no compromise.

It is no less true in education than in law, that if one of the parties to a trust is bent on making an unsound investment or on doing any other act which will imperil the interests of the wards under that trust, his co-trustee is bound to try to prevent him. And I rejoice to see that we have school-administrators in India, who fully realise their responsibility as co-trustees in this education-trust,—men of high ideals and of unshakeable faith in the possibility of realising them,—men, who in their love of the things of the mind and in their passion for the betterment of their own people, altogether refuse to be kept down by the purblind market-law,—As is the demand, so must be the supply. Our greatly lamented friend, Mr. Hiránand Shaukirám Advání, late Principal of the Union Academy at Hyderabad, was one of these rare spirits. Sir Sayyid Ahmad, the founder of Aligarh College, is another. Men of this stamp know very well the immense value of parental and of popular sympathy: but they also know that to yield to the demand of the homes for what is positively or negatively bad, is a cruel kindness to the homes themselves, as well as a breach of the teacher's public trust.

And what has been the outcome of the stand which such men as these have made? They have gradually won the confidence of the homes in their ability as teachers to *guide* as well as to teach: and I doubt not that their good work, which will certainly live and go on bearing fruit long after they are gone, has already been the means of instilling into some parents a sense of responsibility and a moral earnestness in looking after their children's bringing up, both at home and at school, which we may hope is the beginning of a great leavening of Indian society. Another leavening force which men like Mr. Advání and Sir Sayyid Ahmad have set in motion is to be found in those of their pupils who have caught something of their master's spirit and who will one day preside over homes of their own.

Such, then, are the conditions and duties of this two-fold trust: and the only way, I take it, of rightly solving the great problem of education in India, and, indeed, in every country, is for parents and teachers to hold fast to them. The solution is not to be found in mere numbers and grades of schools and pupils or in any mere organisation and machinery.

Good organisation and machinery is, of course, better than bad, because, *if we have the right power to work it,* we can get more work and better work out of it. But if India had nothing more than a vast and complete net-work of schools, as well equipped and organised as those of France, and a compulsory Education Act to fill them with pupils, we should still have to say of her mental condition—Thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead. The one, indispensable thing we have to look to is the play of moral forces. If these are healthy and vigorous, both in our homes and in our schools, we have *motive power,* and the only motive power, by which the machinery of education can be worked. Without this power, the best machinery that the wit of man can devise, is a dead and useless thing. By itself it will never educate a people. But *with* this motive power, a people's public schools, even though they have much obsolete machinery and no scientific organisation, are, as we find them to be in England and Scotland, a sure and lasting means of national regeneration. Then it is that *the people give life and vigour to the schools: and that the schools give good guidance and good training.* The schools are good, because the pupils' home-life is pure and healthy; because parental countenance and authority is a standing, living sanction to the laws and conditions of a healthy and vigorous school-life; and because the Teacher, with wisdom to direct and capacity to train, is at one with the Parents and gives them of his best. From the very nature of the trust neither can do without the other. Each is bound to each, even as Youth and Joy are linked together.

If homes and schools in India will only work together in this spirit, the regeneration of the mind of the people cannot be far off. At all events parents and teachers will be duly discharging the trust, which Nature and Society have imposed on them: and their young wards, when they grow up, will be unable to cast in their teeth the reproach—You have withheld from us the full rights and privileges of true Boyhood.

APPENDIX I. *(for Parents.)*

A letter written by Sir Henry and Lady Sidney to their son Philip, when a boy of nearly twelve at Shrewsbury School.

Date Circa 1565.

SON PHILIP,

I have received two letters from you, one written in Latin, the other in French; which I take in good part, and will you to exercise that practice of learning often; for that will stand you in most stead in that profession of life that you are born to live in. And now, since this is my first letter that ever I did write to you, I will not that it be all empty of some advices which my natural care of you provoketh me to wish you to follow, as documents to you in this your tender age.

Let your first action be the lifting up of your mind to Almighty God, by hearty prayer; and feelingly digest the words you speak in prayer, with continual meditation and thinking of Him to whom you pray, and of the matter for which you pray. And use this as an ordinary act, and at an ordinary hour; whereby the time itself shall put you in remembrance to do that you are accustomed to do in that time.

Apply your study to such hours as your discreet master doth assign you, earnestly; and the time I know he will so limit as shall be both sufficient for your learning and safe for your health. And work the sense and the matter of that you do read, as well as the words; so shall you both enrich your tongue with words and your wit with matter, and judgment will grow as years grow in you.

Be humble and obedient to your masters, for, unless you frame yourself to obey others—yea, and feel in yourself what obedience is, you shall never be able to teach others how to obey you.

Be courteous of gesture and affable to all men, with diversity of reverence, according to the dignity of the person. There is nothing that winneth so much with so little cost.

Use moderate diet, so as, after your meal you may find your wit fresher and not duller, and your body more lively and not more heavy. Seldom drink wine; and yet sometimes do, lest, being enforced to drink upon the sudden, you should find yourself enflamed. Use exercise of body, yet such as is without peril of your bones or joints: it will increase your force and enlarge your breath. Delight to be cleanly, as well in all parts of your body as in your garments: it shall make you grateful in each company—and otherwise loathsome.

Give yourself to be merry; for you degenerate from your father if you find not yourself most able in wit and body to do anything when you are most merry. But let your mirth be ever void of all scurrility and biting words to any man; for a wound given by a word is oftentimes harder to be cured than that which is given by the sword.

Be you rather a hearer and bearer away of other men's talk than a beginner and procurer of speech: otherwise you shall be accounted to delight to hear yourself speak. If you hear a wise sentence or an apt phrase, commit it to your memory with respect of the circumstance when you shall speak it. Let never oath be heard to come out of your mouth, nor word of ribaldry: so shall custom make to yourself a law against it in yourself. Be modest in each assembly, and rather be rebuked of

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light fellows for maiden-like shamefastness than of your sad friends for pert boldness. Think upon every word that you will speak before you utter it, and remember how nature hath ramparted up, as it were, the tongue with teeth, lips—yea, and hair without the lips, and all betokening reins and bridles for the loose use of that member.

Above all things, tell no untruth; no, not in trifles. The custom of it is naughty and let it not satisfy you that for a time the hearers take it for a truth; for after it will be known as it is, to your shame. For there cannot be a greater reproach to a gentleman than to be accounted a liar.

Study and endeavour yourself to be virtuously occupied. So shall you make such a habit of well-doing in you as you shall not know how to do evil, though you would. Remember, my son, the noble blood you are descended of by your mother's side; and think that only by virtuous life and good action you may be an ornament to that illustrious family. Otherwise, through vice and sloth, you may be counted *labes generis*—one of the greatest curses that can happen to man.

Well, my little Philip, this is enough for me, and too much, I fear for you. But if I shall find that this light meal of digestion nourish in anything the weak stomach of your capacity, I will, as I find the same grow stronger, feed it with other food.

Commend me most heartily unto Master Justice Corbet, old Master Onslow, and my cousin, his son. Farewell! Your mother and I send you our blessings, and Almighty God grant you His, nourish you with His fear, govern you with His grace, and make you a good servant to your Prince and Country!

Your loving father, so long as you live in the fear of God,—

H. SIDNEY.

A Postscript by my Lady Sidney, in the skirts of my Lord President's letter.

Your noble careful father hath taken pains with his own hand to give you, in this his letter, so wise, so learned and most requisite precepts for you to follow with a diligent and humble, thankful mind, as I will not withdraw your eyes from beholding and reverent honouring the same. No, not so long as to read any letter from me. And therefore, at this time, I will write unto you no other letter than this; whereby I first bless you, with my desire to God to plant in you His grace, and, secondarily, warn you to have always before the eyes of your mind these excellent counsels of my lord, your dear father, and that you fail not continually, once in four or five days, to read them over.

And for a final leave-taking for this time, see that you show yourself, as a loving, obedient scholar, to your good master, to govern you yet many years, and that my lord and I may hear that you profit so in your learning as thereby you may increase our loving care of you, and deserve at his hands the continuance of his great joy, to have him often witness with his own hands the hope he hath in your well-doing.

Farewell, my little Philip, and once again the Lord bless you!

Your loving Mother,

MARY SIDNEY.

APPENDIX II. (*for Teachers.*)

APHORISMS OF THE REV. E. THRING,

Late Headmaster of Uppingham School.

THE TEACHER *versus* THE HAMMERER.

THE teacher deals with latent powers.—The hammerer hammers in a given task.

The teacher considers the worse the material, the greater the skill in working it.—The hammerer hammers at the nail, and charges the material with the result.

The teacher knows his subject to be infinite, and is always learning himself to put old things in a new form.—The hammerer thinks he knows his subject, and that the pupil ought to know it too.

The teacher loves his work, and every day finds fresh reason to love it.—The hammerer hammers at his work, and finds it more irksome every day.

The teacher thinks nothing done till the food he gives his pupils is digested and craved for.—The hammerer thinks everything done when he has hammered at the nail a given time.

The teacher encourages.—The hammerer punishes.

The teacher has faith in great principles.—The hammerer is the slave of little vexations.

The teacher is a boy amongst boys, in heart; in judyment, a man.—The hammerer has the hardness of a man, with the want of thought of a boy.

The teacher meets the young on their own ground, and from their own point of view.—The hammerer stands above them and makes laws.

The teacher in punishing considers what is best, not what is deserved.—The hammerer applies a fixed penalty.

The teacher deals in exhortation and hope.—The hammerer in truisms and lamentation.

The teacher is animated by a high and true ideal, towards which he is ever working; to which he is ever finding some response, even in apparent failures.—The hammerer's ideal is a shallow dream of selfish success, the non-realization of which leaves him apathetic and querulous in his work, sceptical of goodness, hardened in his own opinions, and closed against improvement.

The teacher, as he believes in his principles and rules, earnestly strives to be the best example of them himself.

Unpunctuality makes authority grating.

Little changes make authority comtemptible.

Little interferences make it hateful.

Pouring out knowledge is not teaching.

Hearing lessons is not teaching.

Hammering a task in is not teaching.

Lecturing clearly is not teaching.

No mere applying of knowledge is teaching.

Teaching is getting at the heart and mind, so that the learner begins to value learning, and to believe learning possible in his own case.

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